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ABSTRACT

An investigation was undertaken to assess student attitudes toward learning and using French and their reasons for studying it. It was felt that a more thorough investigation of these issues might help to broaden knowledge of some of the non-educational, social consequences of immersion programs. English-speaking students in sixth and eleventh grades in both immersion classes and regular French programs were given a questionnaire intended to evaluate their feelings about using French, their actual use of the language outside school settings, their motivations for learning French, and their perceptions of their own competence in it. At the same time, the immersion students were asked to assess the immersion program itself. Results indicated that the immersion students felt more at ease about speaking French and were more competent than students in the regular program. However, there was no indication that immersion students sought opportunities to express themselves in French. These results were explained in relation to three possible variables: (1) the speaking skill was felt to be weaker than other language skills; (2) students' long-range motivation factors effectively minimized immediate usage; and (3) students' usage of the language reflected general social norms in the community. Finally, it is noted that immersion students were generally satisfied with the program and recommended it to other students. (Author/AMH)

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SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

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As has been documented on numerous occasions, the immersion programs in Montreal were originally developed in response to the concerns of English-speaking parents that the available second language programs were not adequate to provide their children with the competence in French that they would need in an increasingly French-speaking province (c.f. Lambert & Tucker, 1972). Indeed, this concern has become even greater as a result of recent political and legislative events in Quebec.

Since their inception in 1965, the immersion programs have been the subject of numerous investigations whose main concerns have been the level of first and second language competence and the level of academic achievement of the participating students. Notwithstanding the significance of such issues, in view of the demands on these programs to satisfy certain social needs, such as functional bilingualism in everyday situations outside school, it would seem desirable to investigate other issues, in addition to second language competence per se, that might be important in meeting these demands. For example, students' attitudes toward using French in non-classroom settings or their reasons for studying French in school might influence their use of the language outside school or, indeed, their language learning in school. A more thorough investigation of these issues might help to broaden our knowledge of some of the non-educational, social consequences of immersion programs. The following study was a step in this direction.

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Students in the French immersion (early and late) and regular French programs of the P.S.B.G.M. were questioned with regard to four issues: (1) their feelings about using French; (2) their actual use of French outside school settings; (3) their motivations for learning French; and (4) their perceptions of their own competence in French. At the same time, we assessed the Immersion students' attitudes toward the French immersion program itself. Information about these issues was gathered by means of a questionnaire which was part of a larger evaluation of the second language programs of the P.S.B.G.M. (c.f. Genesee, Note 1; Genesee & Stefanovic, Note 2).

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METHOD

Subjects

Students from grade 6 and grade 11 of the immersion and regular French programs participated. Immersion students were drawn from the total early immersion program and from the grade 7 immersion and follow-up program. The grade 6 immersion students had received 2½ years of instruction totally in French (K, 1,2) followed by four years in which French and English were used in varying proportions as media of classroom instruction: grade 3 - 80% French, grade 4 - 60% French, grades 5 and 6 - 40% French.

The grade 11 immersion students had taken the regular French-as-a-second-language program in grades K to 6 (i.e., 15-20 mins/day), followed by a year of immersion in grade 7 during which 85% of course instruction was given in French. In the follow-up years (8-11) all students took one compulsory French course per year and in some cases an additional optional course in French. The optional courses were not necessarily language courses and included subjects such as history, geography, and mathematics. Students who had taken 6 or more courses in French (compulsory plus optional) in grades 8, 9 and 10 combined were classified as Immersion I and students who had taken five or fewer courses in French in the same grades were classified as Immersion II. This distinction was made in order to differentiate degrees of follow-up in French.

Students in the regular program had studied French as a second language for 20-30 mins/day in grades K to 6 and for 45 mins/day in grades 7 to 11.

Sample sizes were as follows:

Grade 6:	Immersion	- 65
	Control	- 65
Grade 11:	Immersion I	- 51
	Immersion II	- 35
	Control	- 52

The students in each group were classified as above average (full scale I.Q. of 116 or above), average (full scale I.Q. between 96 and 115) or below average (full scale I.Q. below 95) according to their performance on the Canadian Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test (1967). Approximately 1/3 of each sample fell into each category. In this way it was possible to insure that our samples represented all levels of intellectual ability. The grade 6 and grade 11 samples were selected from four different schools each.

The Questionnaire

There were two parts to the questionnaire: Part I was completed by all students while Part II was completed only by the Immersion students.

Part I of the questionnaire consisted of 12 main questions, some of which included a number of sub-questions. The questions pertained to four areas: (1) the students' use of the French language, (2) the students' feelings about speaking French, (3) the students' motivations for learning French, and (4) the students' perceptions of their French language competence. All but one of the questions in this section required that the students make their responses using a rating scale.

Part II of the questionnaire consisted of four questions pertaining to the Immersion students' attitudes toward the French immersion program itself.

The responses of the grade 6 and 11 students to the questions in Part I will be presented concurrently according to the four areas listed above. The specific questions and their corresponding results will be presented along with an interpretation of their significance. The results for the grade 6 Immersion group have been listed under the heading "Immersion I".

Responses to those questions which involved a rating scale were each analyzed separately using analyses of variance (least squares solution). The main independent variable was school group (Grade 6: Immersion, English Control; Grade 11: Immersion I, Immersion II, English Control). The grade 6 and grade 11 results were analyzed separately. Answers to questions not involving a rating scale were tabulated in terms of percentage frequency per response category; no statistical analyses were carried out with these results.

Part I

(1) Feelings About Speaking French

A summary of the questions and answers relevant to this section is presented in Table 1 along with the corresponding *F* ratios, *p* values and *df* values. The answers to Questions 1, 2 and 3 were made on rating scales ranging from 1, indicating "always", to 5, indicating "never". The answers to Questions 4 and 5 were made on 7-point rating scales, with 1 representing a high degree of the feeling in question, e.g., confidence, embarrassment, etc., and 7 representing an absence of the feeling in question. For example, for the dimension of confidence, the scale went from 1, "very confident" to 7, "not at all confident".

Some interesting patterns emerged from the students' responses. On the one hand, while there were no significant differences between the Immersion students and the Control students at either grade level concerning the likelihood of their initiating a conversation or verbal exchange in French (Question 1), the Immersion students at both grade levels reported that they were more likely to respond in French if spoken to in French than did the Control students (Question 2a). Conversely, the Immersion students at both grade levels reported that they were less likely to respond in English under the same circumstances (Question 2b). Furthermore, the Immersion I students in grade 11 reported that they were less likely to avoid situations where French would be spoken than did the Control students (Question 3).

When we examine the students' feelings about speaking either English or French (Questions 4 and 5), we find that there were no reported differences between the Immersion students and the Control students at either grade level when it comes to speaking English -- all students reported feeling equally comfortable, confident and not embarrassed while speaking English. However, when it comes to speaking French, the Immersion students reported that they feel more comfortable, more confident and less embarrassed than did the Control students. This pattern of results was characteristic of both grade 6 and 11 students. Thus, the Immersion experience seems to have given the participating students a sense of confidence and comfort about the French language that the students following the regular program have not acquired.

TABLE 1

Summary of Questions and Answers Pertaining to
Students' Feelings About Speaking French

	Immersion I	Immersion II	Control	F Ratios	df
Question 1 (ratings range from 1, always, to 5, never)					
"When you meet someone who you think speaks French, as his native language, how often do you actually start talking to him or her in French?"					
Grade 6	2.92		3.18	.50	1,108
Grade 11	3.72	2.93	3.26	2.34	2,129
Question 2 (ratings range from 1, always, to 5, never)					
(a) "When a French speaker approaches you and begins talking in French, how likely are you to answer back in French?					
Grade 6	1.67		2.25	21.31***	1,108
Grade 11	1.60	2.17	2.42	9.68***	2,129
(b) "How likely are you to answer back in English?"					
Grade 6	3.89		3.18	16.26***	1,108
Grade 11	4.08	3.45	2.92	16.31***	2,129
Question 3 (ratings range from 1, always, to 5, never)					
"How often do you feel that you would rather avoid situations where you have to talk in French?"					
Grade 6	3.28		3.12	2.09	1,108
Grade 11	3.47	3.09	3.05	2.69*	2,129

* $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$

TABLE 1 (cont'd)

	Immersion I	Immersion II	Control	F Ratios	df
Question 4 (ratings range from 1,very, to 7, not at all)					
"When you talk in English to someone who is also English speaking how do you feel?"					
(a) Very comfortable / Not at all					
Grade 6	1.41		1.23	.20	1,108
Grade 11	1.21	1.43	1.11	2,23	2,129
(b) Very confident / Not at all					
Grade 6	1.94		1.49	.08	1,108
Grade 11	1.31	1.44	1.26	.72	2,129
(c) Very embarrassed / Not at all					
Grade 6	6.51		6.32	.40	1,108
Grade 11	6.68	6.57	6.78	.53	2,129
Question 5 (ratings range from 1, very, to 7, not at all)					
"When you talk in French to French-speaking people, how do you feel?					
(a) Very comfortable / not at all					
Grade 6	3.35		4.41	9.13**	1,108
Grade 11	3.60	4.66	4.44	5.37***	2,129
(b) Very confident / not at all					
Grade 6	3.36		4.36	9.43**	1,108
Grade 11	3.86	4.85	4.86	6.04***	2,129
(c) Very embarrassed / not at all					
Grade 6	4.96		4.16	3.91*	1,108
Grade 11	4.63	3.87	3.98	2.44*	2,129

** $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

(2) Use of the French Language

A summary of the questions and answers relevant to this section are presented in Table 2. For all of the questions in this section, the ratings range from 1, indicating "Always", to 5, indicating "never". Thus, the lower the average rating, the higher the average frequency.

The average reported frequency of usage of French as indicated by Questions 6 and 7 was the same for both the Immersion and Control students at both the grade 6 and 11 levels. Items pertaining to English books, magazines and television were included here in order to assess whether the groups used English media to the same extent. This would have been important to know had there been differences in their reported usage of French media.

Thus, it would appear from the students' own reports that the Immersion experience has not resulted in any actual greater self-initiated use of French outside the school setting with one exception -- the grade 6 Immersion students reported that they read French books and magazines more often than did the Control students. There is also an apparent lack of differential interest or effort in creating situations where French could be used (Questions 8 and 9). This latter finding is consistent with the results of Question 1 which indicated that Immersion students were not more likely than the regular students to initiate a verbal exchange in French with someone who they thought was French-speaking.

(3) Motivation for Learning French

A summary of the questions and answers relevant to this section is presented in Table 3. The answers to each of these questions were made on rating scales ranging from 1, indicating "very important", to 7, indicating "not at all important".

There were no significant differences at either grade level between the Immersion and Control students' ratings of the reasons for learning French that were given for consideration with the exception of item (g), "because most of my friends are also studying French". In general, the grade 6 students, Immersion and Control, rated all reasons somewhat lower on the scale, that is somewhat more important, than did the grade 11 students, Immersion and Control. This observation is not based on a statistical comparison of the grade 6 and grade 11 results, but rather on visual inspection of the data. There is no obvious reason why this tendency occurred.

TABLE 2

Summary of Questions and Answers Pertaining to
Students' Use of the French Language [a.]

Question 6

"How often do you -

(a) read English books or magazines?

	Immersion I	Immersion II	Control	F. Ratio	df
Grade 6	1.77		1.58	.28	1,108
Grade 11	1.72	1.87	1.80	.86	2,129

(b) watch English television?

Grade 6	1.24		1.28	.17	1,108
Grade 11	1.58	1.78	1.47	1.26	2,129

(c) read French books or magazines?

Grade 6	3.22		3.92	22.98***	1,108
Grade 11	3.71	3.82	3.75	.12	2,129

(d) watch French television?

Grade 6	3.52		3.79	1.68	1,108
Grade 11	3.90	3.86	3.67	.84	2,129

(e) when you go to a play or movie, how often is it in French?

Grade 6	4.11		4.34	2.45	1,108
Grade 11	4.29	4.36	4.36	.11	2,129

a. ratings range from 1(6 times a week or more, or always) to 5 (never)
*** $p < .001$

TABLE 2 (cont'd)

	Immersion I	Immersion II	Control	F Ratio	df
Question 7					
"How often do you speak French in the following situations?"					
(a) with friends:					
Grade 6	3.71		3.80	.70	1,108
Grade 11	3.75	3.70	3.54	.60	2,129
(b) with family:					
Grade 6	3.88		3.88	.01	1,108
Grade 11	4.30	4.51	4.16	1.40	2,129
Question 8					
"How often do you try to get into situations when you will have a chance to speak French?"					
Grade 6	3.51		3.40	.42	1,108
Grade 11	3.64	3.54	3.54	.17	2,129
Question 9					
"Would you like to be able to speak French more often with French-speaking people?"					
Grade 6	3.35		3.82	.69	1,108
Grade 11	2.90	2.49	2.76	.77	2,129

TABLE 3

Summary of Questions and Answers Pertaining to Students' Motivations for Learning French [a].

	Immersion I	Immersion II	Control	F Ratios	df
Question 10					
"I think that it is important to learn French.					
(a) because it will help me to get a better job when I am finished school.					
Grade 6	1.62		1.49	.17	1,108
Grade 11	1.98	2.57	2.34	1.13	2,129
(b) because in the future it will be necessary to speak French if you want to live in Montreal.					
Grade 6	1.62		1.96	.72	1,108
Grade 11	2.25	2.40	2.52	.25	2,129
(c) because then I can travel more freely in foreign countries.					
Grade 6	2.25		2.23	.74	1,108
Grade 11	3.31	3.59	3.31	.26	2,129
(d) because then I might be able to make friends with some French Canadians.					
Grade 6	2.55		2.55	.40	1,108
Grade 11	3.18	3.86	3.69	1.33	2,129
(e) because it is nice to know another language.					
Grade 6	2.75		3.07	1.35	1,108
Grade 11	2.70	3.38	3.19	2.08	2,129
(f) so that I can go to French movies and watch French television and read French books.					
Grade 6	3.41		3.47	.12	1,108
Grade 11	3.59	4.08	3.65	.70	2,129
(g) because most of my other friends are also studying French.					
Grade 6	4.65		4.63	.00	1,108
Grade 11	6.29	5.77	5.47	4.24*	2,129

a. ratings range from 1, very important, to 7, not at all.

* $p < .05$

TABLE 4

Summary of Questions and Answers Pertaining to Students' Perceptions of Their French Language Competence [a.]

	Immersion I	Immersion II	Control	F Ratio	df
Question 1					
"How good do you think you are in French in the following:					
(a) your ability to understand others :					
Grade 6	5.24		4.72	6.30*	1,108
Grade 11	5.66	4.92	4.73	6.88***	2,129
(b) your accent when you speak:					
Grade 6	5.07		4.62	6.30*	1,108
Grade 11	4.88	4.08	4.26	3.90*	2,129
(c) reading:					
Grade 6	4.69		4.78	3.00	1,108
Grade 11	4.79	4.54	4.42	1.19	2,129
(d) your ability to be understood when you speak:					
Grade 6	4.88		4.54	7.08**	1,108
Grade 11	4.71	4.01	4.13	3.04*	2,129
(e) writing:					
Grade 6	4.50		3.77	3.80*	1,108
Grade 11	4.21	3.69	3.50	4.29**	2,129
(f) your ability to speak correctly:					
Grade 6	4.48		4.04	5.87*	1,108
Grade 11	4.48	3.89	3.77	3.93*	2,129
(g) your ability to say exactly what you want to say:					
Grade 6	4.07		3.77	5.71*	1,108
Grade 11	4.03	3.50	3.50	2.18	2,129

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

a. ratings range from 1, poor, to 7, excellent.

Table 3 has been compiled so that the reasons are rank ordered with those which were generally rated more important appearing at the beginning and those which were rated less important appearing later. The ordering is not based on statistical analyses, but rather on simple numerical ordering. In general, then, the reasons which were rated most important at both grade levels were the instrumental ones: (a) "it will help me to get a better job when I am finished school", and (b) "it will be necessary to speak French if you want to live in Montreal".

The students rated item (c), "travel abroad" somewhat more important than item (d), "to make friends with French-Canadians", and item (e), "because it is nice to know another language", more important than item (f), "so that I can go to French movies, watch French television and read French books". The reason that was clearly least important to these students was "because most of my friends are also studying French".

Thus, it would appear that these students are motivated to learn French primarily for instrumental reasons--to secure a better job and to stay in Montreal; secondarily, for integrative reasons -- to participate in the French culture and to meet French Canadians, and for personal reasons -- to travel abroad and to know another language; and, least of all, because of peer pressure -- because their friends are studying French. These findings are consistent with those found in a previous study (Genesee, Note 3) and will be discussed in greater detail in the Summary and Discussion section.

(4) Students' Perception of their French Language Competence

A summary of the questions and answers relevant to this section is presented in Table 4. Answers to all of these questions were made on rating scales ranging from 1, indicating "poor" skill,to 7, indicating "excellent" skill. As in the previous section, the items in Table 4 have been compiled in rank order so that the skills which were rated most positively by the students appear before skills which were rated less positively. No statistical analyses were made to compare items; analyses which were made to compare the Immersion and Control students' responses were made on each item separately.

On all items, except reading, there were statistically significant differences between the Immersion students and the Control students at both grade levels. In virtually every case, the Immersion students rated their competence in each of the skills given for consideration higher than did the Control students. This is not surprising in view of the

TABLE 5

Frequency with which each language skill was selected as most important to improve.

GRADE 6

		Immersion	Control
(i)	aural comprehension	24%	29%
(ii)	oral vocabulary	26	15
(iii)	speak correctly	20	30
(iv)	reading	16	8
(v)	writing	8	17
(vi)	accent	6	1

GRADE 11

		Immersion I	Immersion II	Control
(i)	speak correctly	44.5%	52.7%	46.5%
(ii)	oral vocabulary	33.5	27.8	24.2
(iii)	writing	5.5	13.9	10.4
(iv)	oral comprehension	5.5	5.6	15.5
(v)	reading	5.5	0	1.7
(vi)	accent	5.5	0	1.7

Immersion students' measured superiority in French (c.f. Genesee, Note 1; Genesee & Stefanovic, Note 2).

Both grade 6 and 11 students rated listening comprehension as their strongest skill, followed very closely, in the case of the grade 6 students especially, by accent. The remaining skills were rated in the following descending rank order: reading, ability to be understood by others, writing, ability to speak correctly, and ability to say exactly what you want. These self-reports are fairly consistent with the pattern of results which emerges from more objective language tests, where we find that the students, and those in Immersion particularly, are strongest in listening comprehension and weakest, or least native-like, in oral production (Genesee, Note 1; Genesee & Stefanovic, Note 2). Thus, it would appear that the students in these programs have a fairly accurate picture of their own second language competence. These findings also suggest another reason for the students' lack of initiative in using French, namely their perception that their speaking skills are relatively weak. They may, therefore, be reluctant to initiate a conversation for fear of making a mistake.

In this section, we also asked the students, "If you were able to improve your French skills, which two aspects would you like to improve most?" They were to indicate from among six possibilities the one they would most like to improve and the one they would "next most like to improve". The possibilities included (1) reading, (2) writing, (3) the ability to understand French people, (4) to speak correctly, (5) accent when talking and (6) vocabulary when talking. A summary of these results is presented in Table 5.

At the grade 6 level, the skills that were rated most frequently as most important to improve were the three areas related to interpersonal communication; namely, oral vocabulary, aural comprehension and the ability to speak correctly.

At the grade 11 level, speaking correctly and oral vocabulary skills were most frequently mentioned as first priority for improvement. By comparison, all other skills were mentioned much less frequently. Reading and accent were the least frequently mentioned skills as priority 1.

Part II

Part II of the questionnaire was completed by the Immersion students only and was concerned with the students' attitudes toward the French immersion program itself. There were three questions; each will be discussed in turn.

Question 1

Are you happy to have taken the French immersion program?: very happy (1) --- very unhappy (7)

Students' I.Q. Level

	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Total
Grade 6:	1.34	1.40	2.00	1.55
Grade 11:				
Immersion I	1.48	1.44	1.75	1.53
Immersion II	1.30	2.17	2.20	1.92

Clearly, the students were generally very happy to have taken the French immersion program. This appears to be as true for the below average students as it was for the average and above average students at both grade levels.

Question 2

Do you think that by taking the French immersion program you have made more work for yourself?

	Grade 6	Grade 11	
	Immersion	Immersion I	Immersion II
YES	29%	33.3%	37.5%
NO	52%	64.7%	62.5%
DON'T KNOW	19%	2.0%	0.0%

A majority of the students in each group felt that they had not made more work for themselves by taking the French immersion program. Despite the fact that approximately 1/3 of the students felt that they had made more work for themselves, the ratings from Question 1 suggest that they were nevertheless happy with the program.

Question 3

If you had a younger brother or sister who was going to start school next year, would you advise him or her to take French immersion in Kindergarten?

		Grade II	
	Immersion	Immersion I	Immersion II
YES	82%	70.6%	83.3%
NO	5%	5.9%	4.2%
DON'T KNOW	14%	23.5%	12.5%

An overwhelming majority of the students said that they would recommend the early French immersion program to younger siblings, an impressive accolade for the program.

Attitudes and Second Language Learning

In order to investigate the relationship between immersion students' attitudes and second language learning, a series of multiple regression analyses was carried out. Five attitudinal predictors were derived from the students' responses to items in the questionnaire; they were: (1) integrative motivation; (2) instrumental motivation; (3) use of French outside school; (4) feelings about speaking French; and (5) desire for additional opportunity to use French. A list of the specific questions which comprised each predictor is presented in Appendix A.

The student's score for each one, except 3 (opportunity to use French), consisted of his average ratings for the questions which comprised the predictor. In the case of predictor 3, the score is the sum of the student's ratings on the three scales which comprised the predictor; this was done since the questions did not have the same values.

Four separate measures of French language proficiency were used as criterion variables; they were (1) reading, (2) rendement en français, (3) listening comprehension and (4) oral production. These tests had been used as part of a general evaluation of the early immersion (Genesee, Note 1) and grade 7 immersion programs (Genesee & Stefanovic, Note 2). Very briefly, the reading test for grade 6 consisted of a modified version of the Test de Lecture Silencieuse, Level 6-7, Form A (Joly, 1967) which consists of a cloze procedure with multiple-choice answers;

TABLE 6

SUMMARY OF REGRESSION ANALYSES

- F Ratios -

A) GRADE 6:

	Reading	Rendement	Listening	Oral	df
Overall	.56	1.63	.84	1.47	5,36
Integrative	.33	.11	.07	1.42	1,36
Instrumental	.24	.43	.07	2.11	1,36
Opportunity	1.28	3.22	.91	.11	1,36
Use	.17	.18	.03	3.60	1,36
Feelings	.06	2.85	2.22	.02	1,36

B) GRADE 11:

Overall	1.31	2.38	1.37	.31	5,30
Integrative	.37	.36	1.53	.01	1,30
Instrumental	.47	.02	.19	.04	1,30
Opportunity	1.00	2.36	2.62	.62	1,30
Use	.89	.03	1.07	.01	1,30
Feelings	.24	3.83	.10	.18	1,30

the grade 11 test was a modified version of the Test de Lecture California, Cycle Inférieur (Editest, 1967), which contained vocabulary and comprehension subtests, both with multiple-choice answers. The tests de rendement were developed by La Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montréal for use in its French schools; the grade 6 level was used for grade 6 and the grade 9 level, the most advanced level of the test, was used for grade 11. The listening comprehension tests consisted of short stories with multiple-choice questions. Finally, the oral production measures consisted of subjective judgements of speech samples collected from the students in individual interviews; each student's score was his average rating, out of 5, on oral vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation and communicativeness.

Separate regression analyses were carried out for each criterion variable and for each grade level. Only the data for Immersion Group I from grade 11 were analyzed. Since only the results of students for whom we had complete test results could be analyzed, the sample sizes are smaller than those reported for the questionnaire results; namely, Grade 6 - 42, and Grade 11 - 36. A summary of all regression analyses is presented in Table 6.

None of the overall regression effects at either grade level was statistically significant nor were any of the regression effects for each predictor variable, considered separately, significant. Thus,there was no significant association between any of the attidudinal predictors included in the study and student performance on any of the language proficiency tests. These results may be due to the relatively small standard deviations of the predictor scores; see Table 7 for a summary.

Table 7
STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF PREDICTOR SCORES

	GRADE 6		GRADE 11	
	Standard Deviation	Maximum Value	Standard Deviation	Maximum Value
Integrative	1.48	7	1.21	7
Instrumental	.74	7	.95	7
Opportunity	2.58	15	2.13	15
Use	.52	5	.60	5
Feeling	1.32	7	1.20	7

The small standard deviations suggest that there may be relatively well defined norms regarding the issues included in the questionnaire, at least among the student samples under investigation. It is our opinion that these are genuine norms and do not simply reflect a bias to respond in a socially expected manner. If a response bias had been operating, one would have expected the Immersion students to have answered the questions pertaining to the use of French and willingness to initiate exchanges in French in a more self-flattering way than they did. Thus, we believe that students will provide valid responses to direct questions of the sort included in our questionnaire. These analyses, however, have not thrown any light on the relationship between students' attitudes and their second language learning.

Summary and Discussion

The Immersion students reported that they were generally very happy to have taken the French immersion program. The majority of those surveyed, in fact, said that they would recommend the program to younger brothers and sisters despite the fact that a sizeable proportion of them, one-third, also felt that French immersion involved more work.

According to the students' own reports, the French immersion experience had afforded them a greater sense of confidence and comfort in speaking French and also a greater willingness to use French when the situation arises, relative to students in the regular French program. However, it does not seem that they are more active in initiating conversations in French or in actively seeking out situations where French could be used. Indeed, when the students' own reports of how frequently they use French in various situations were examined, there was no evidence that they use French more outside school than do their peers in the regular program.

These findings may be explained partially by the students' feelings that their speaking skills are weaker than their other French language skills, and they, therefore, may be reluctant to use French more actively for fear of making a mistake. Their lack of initiative in using French may also be explained by the motivational system which characterizes their learning of French. The students reported that the most important reasons for learning French were instrumental (e.g., to get a job, and because it will be a necessity in Québec). Integrative reasons(e.g., to use the French media, and to participate in French Canadian culture) were rated somewhat less important. As long as these students, Immersion and Control alike, are motivated to learn French for instrumental reasons they probably cannot be expected either to use the language actively outside the classroom in social or cultural

settings or to seek out opportunities to use and practise it. The students may see the rewards for learning French arising in the future when they enter the job market; the immediate cross-cultural rewards which are available in the form of personal friendships or cultural activities are seen as less important. It would appear that now they will wait for these rewards to be given rather than attempt to create them by venturing into cross-cultural situations. This type of reaction is probably quite typical of children's reactions to a variety of issues, not just French.

The students' use of French may also reflect more general social norms in their community. If their parents' use of French is restricted to job-related or public service-related activities, and we can only speculate that this is the case, students may not see the need for or advantages to using French except when necessary. Therefore, we may expect the students' patterns of second language usage outside school to change only when the broader social norms which currently characterize its use in anglophone communities begin to change. In other words, they may be expected to exercise their enhanced second language proficiency outside school only if there is active support in their communities and in their families to do so.

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APPENDIX A

Items Included in Predictor Variables

(1) Integrative Motivation

"I think that it is important to learn French:

i) because then I can travel more freely in foreign countries.
ii) because then I might be able to make friends with some French Canadians.
iii) because it is nice to know another language.
iv) so that I can go to French movies, watch French television or read French books."

(2) Instrumental Motivation

"I think that it is important to learn French:

i) because it will help me to get a better job when I am finished school.
ii) because in the future it will be necessary to speak French if you want to live in Montreal."

(3) Opportunity

i) "How often do you feel that you would rather avoid situations where you have to talk in French?"
ii) "How often do you try to get into situations where you will have a chance to speak French?"
iii) "Would you like to speak French more often with French-speaking people?"

(4) Use

"How often do you -

i) read French books or magazines?
ii) watch French television?
iii) go to a French movie?
iv) speak French with friends?
v) speak French with your family?"

(5) Feelings

"When you talk in French to French-speaking people, how do you feel?

i) very comfortable... not at all comfortable.
ii) very confident... not at all confident.
iii) very embarrassed... not at all embarrassed."